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N.Y. State Election - 1846

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# THE RESULT

## OF THE N. Y. STATE ELECTION;

### ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

#### No. I.

The results of the recent election in this State are now officially ascertained, and are, the election of the Whig Governor, by a majority over the democratic candidate of 11,572; of five whig of the eight Senators, by an aggregate majority in the State of 12,435; of 65 whig, 50 democratic and 10\* anti-rent members of the Assembly; and of 24 whigs and bolters, to 10 democratic members of Congress,† by an aggregate majority in the State of 21,051. The democratic Lieutenant Governor is elected by a majority over the whig candidate of 13,357; and one whig Canal Commissioner is elected by a majority, over his democratic opponent, of 7255, and one democratic Canal Commissioner is elected over his whig opponent, by a majority of 13,356.—These are the general results, as to the prominent candidates, briefly stated.

The causes of this almost complete, and to the great body of the honest democracy of the State, wholly unexpected, political revolution, cannot be stated so briefly. They are various, and require to be traced in considerable detail, to be clearly seen and distinctly understood by those who have not closely watched political movements for a series of years past.

The extracts we have been daily giving, since the election, from the democratic press of the country, as well out of the State as in it, have shown to our readers that the impression is universal among the democracy, that the democratic candidate for Governor was made the mark, in the contest, while the whig press has also conclusively shown that his defeat is esteemed by that

party the proudest feature in their triumph. This conclusion of the democracy, is clearly sound and correct, as will be seen by tracing the causes which have led to this unnatural and violent result. If, therefore, in tracing those causes, and pointing out their agency, we shall seem to have particular reference to this candidate, it will not be because we regard the importance of the result only as it affects him, but because his position combined and concentrated the influences which have produced it, and his defeat was the darling object of the combination.

One preliminary fact will be conceded. It is that Mr. WRIGHT came to the gubernatorial chair in 1844, against the whole current of his personal inclinations. That he preferred to remain in the office of Senator, which he then held, was a fact well known to all parties and to all men in this State; and that he yielded his name as a candidate to the repeated and imperative calls of his party, is a fact just as well known. A Presidential election was depending, and it was entirely apparent that this State was to be made the battle ground by the whigs, under the strongest conviction that the vote of the State would be decisive of the contest. The nomination of Mr. VAN BUREN, at Baltimore, had been defeated, in a manner in no way satisfactory to the great body of the democracy of this State; and though the candidate for President presented by the National Convention was in himself entirely acceptable to our democrats, yet it was hoped by the whigs, that our disappointment would give them a sufficient advantage to turn the State in their favor. As the election approached, the judgment of the democratic party of the State seemed to become settled that the name of Mr. WRIGHT, the known friend of Mr. VAN BUREN, upon the State ticket as the democratic candidate for the office of Governor, had become indispensable to the safety of the State, both in its elec-

\* The anti-rent organ of this city claims 18 votes: If this is so, the whigs will have 63.

† The Tribune classifies the members of Congress as follows: Whigs 23—Democrats 9. "Dubious" 2.

to the demand for its use was very general, and very imperative, through the democratic press, public meetings, and in other forms. Mr. WRIGHT yielded to these calls as a matter of duty and not of choice. The conclusion that the use of his name was necessary to the success of his party and its principles, was the judgment of that party and not of himself, and yielding to that judgment, he was made a candidate and was elected; and the electoral vote of the State was secured to the democratic candidate for President.

Gov. WRIGHT took the office from the hands of his predecessor, on the first day of January, 1845, and found an insurrection in existence, and an armed force actually in the field to quell it.—The city of Hudson was a military camp, and daily and hourly conflicts were threatened between the militia in the service of the State, and the citizens who had taken arms to resist the execution of the laws.

The anti-rent disturbances grew up during the administration of the whig governor, SEWARD, and although, at one time during that administration, the militia were called out to suppress the insurrectionary movements and to execute the laws, nothing was done to check the spreading spirit of disaffection, or to give energy and effect to the arm of the law. The officers, whose duty it was to execute the law, were continually and effectually resisted, and the laws were not executed.

At this time the manifestations of a spirit of insurrection were almost, if not altogether, confined to the county of Albany, and to a limited locality within this county, and there is not room for a reasonable doubt, that firmness then, in the execution of the law, and wisdom in the recommendation of such modifications of it as the just complaints of the tenants called for, and the Constitution authorised, would have put this excitement at rest in a single year, and restored peace and quiet to the tenants, and to the landlords their just dues. That favorable period, however, was permitted to pass away in experiments, to conciliate all parties.

Gov. BOUCK succeeded Gov. SEWARD, and he too relied upon persuasion and solicitation, while the execution of the law remained in abeyance, until the tenants could be reasoned into a consent that it might be executed peacefully.

The effect of this policy was such as was to have been expected. The spirit of disaffection and insurrection spread wherever leasehold estates existed, and began actively to manifest itself in counties where different tenures prevailed, but where heavy indebtedness for lands existed in the shape of contracts, or mortgages.

In this Senate District, not a county escaped the infection, and what was, at the commencement, a common feeling of dissatisfaction against the character of the leasehold tenures and the burdens of a rent charge, confined to a single neighborhood in a single county, had come to be an organized and armed resistance against the collection of rents, throughout the district. Riotous and insurrectionary assemblages of armed men were almost daily witnessed, and flagrant outrages upon persons and property, were matters of common occurrence, committed with entire

impunity. Open robberies of the sheriffs and bailiffs, in the public streets and in the day time, were again and again perpetrated, and finally two human lives, one in the county of Rensselaer, and another in the county of Columbia, fell a sacrifice to these riotous and violent proceedings.

This roused the spirit of the citizens to protect the safety and peace of the community; the sheriff of Columbia county was voluntarily aided, and some of the leaders in these disturbances and perpetrators of these crimes, were arrested and lodged in the jail of that county, to answer to the law for its flagrant violation. An attack upon the jail, and upon the town of Hudson, was immediately threatened by the rioters, to rescue the prisoners, and punish those who had aided in their arrest; and to avert such consequences, Gov. BOUCK, on the 27th of December 1844, gave the first order given by him to call out an armed force to resist these lawless movements. On the 31st day of the same month, and the last day of his official term, he issued a farther order to augment the force at Hudson, sent there to protect the jail and the city, and to aid in the arrest of other criminals.

In this condition the executive government of the State was handed over to Mr. Wright. His first prominent official act was his annual message to the legislature, transmitted on the 7th of January, 1845. In this document, for the first time, the insurrectionary spirit, growing out of the anti-rent excitement, was looked sternly in the face, and boldly and firmly rebuked. The message commenced this subject by saying that the Governor felt himself estopped from discussing the real grievances of the tenants, or considering the proper remedies, while persons assuming to act in their names and in their behalf, were in arms to resist the laws, thus taking the position that the supremacy of the law must be asserted and sustained, before negotiations could be entered upon with those who were in open insurrection to overturn it. The message then recited, in considerable detail, the illegal and insurrectionary proceedings, as the evidence of them had been laid before the governor; made a strong appeal to that portion of the tenants who did not approve of the armed resistance against the execution of the law, or who should not be willing, upon reflection, to become involved in an insurrection; recommended to the legislature the adoption of efficient measures for strengthening the arms of the sheriffs and their officers, and for bringing the military power of the State more promptly and efficiently to their aid, when it should become necessary in the execution of the laws, and concluded with the clear and unequivocal declaration that **THE LAWS MUST BE EXECUTED.**

In the meantime, the proceedings of the military force, which had been assembled at Hudson by the orders of Gov. BOUCK, were as closely supervised and as discreetly directed as possible, in the excitement of the period and under the circumstances which attended the assembling and service of that force, and the jail and the town were protected and numerous arrests made.

These decided steps on the part of the new Governor, as was to have been expected, greatly inflamed the passions of the excited anti-renters,

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and concentrated their feelings, political and personal, against that officer. For a time, resistance to the laws appeared to be the popular and prevalent determination amongst this class of citizens. The sheriffs of Rensselaer, Schoharie and Delaware met with open, violent and armed resistance against the execution of legal process, both civil and criminal, and calls were made upon the Governor from all these officers for military aid. All were uniformly told that their duties must be first faithfully and firmly discharged, and the power of their respective counties exerted, and when they should be able to show that it was inadequate to the execution of process within their bailiwicks, the power of the State would be promptly brought to their aid. Whenever applications were properly made, arms were loaned to the sheriffs from the State Arsenals for the use of their posses, and such loans were made to Columbia, Schoharie and Delaware counties.

The legislature early gave to the sheriffs the authority to arm their posses, and in the course of the session the authority to select men to serve in the posses at a stipulated compensation, to be paid by the county. Important provisions of law were also adopted to facilitate bringing the military power of the State in aid of the sheriffs in executing process, and preserving the public peace within their counties.

In the course of this winter a similar insurrectionary spirit manifested itself in the county of Cattaraugus, not in any way connected with leasehold estates, but to resist the payment of debts contracted for the purchase of lands, and existing in the form of contracts, or mortgages. A call was made upon the Governor for military aid from the civil authorities of that county; but a loan of arms to the sheriff enabled him to quell the resistance in a prompt and decided manner, without any further State interference.

These energetic proceedings appeared, at length, to have satisfied the rioters that even armed resistance to the laws could no longer be made effectual, nor altogether safe, and, from the adjournment of the legislature in May, until near the close of the summer, comparative quiet and order was experienced in the excited counties.

Then the murder of STEELE, a deputy of the sheriff of Delaware county, for no other offence than the attempt to aid the sheriff in the execution of a distress warrant, showed that the previous quiet had been productive of this desperate resolve, and not of a returning obedience to the laws.

The Governor immediately declared the county in a state of insurrection; organized a battalion of three hundred men, selected entirely from the county of Delaware and the adjoining counties, and placed them at the disposal of the sheriff of that county, with explicit instructions that, so far as not required to guard the jail and aid in the arrest of persons charged with crime, the force should be employed in aiding the officers to collect the rents in arrear, and thus extinguish the immediate cause of the insurrection in that county.

It is not our object, in this article, to trace farther, or more minutely, the proceedings in the county of Delaware, from this time onward. They were such, in their military, civil, and judicial

features, as to have excited the deepest interest and attracted the intense attention of the people of the whole State, and we might as properly say, of the whole country. They were such as, in the course of about three months, to conquer this insurrection, not merely in Delaware county, but in every county of the State, and to put an entire termination to armed resistance to the laws, and that too without the shedding of one drop of blood.

This was effected under the administration of Gov. Wright, within eleven months from the time he took his oath of office, one of the obligations of which was to "*take care that the laws are faithfully executed.*" Thus, and in so short a time, was an insurrection quelled, which had been growing up during nearly the whole six years of the administrations of his two immediate predecessors, which had extended itself over more than one-eighth part of the State, and which had carried itself to the pitch of taking the life of an officer of the law, because he would discharge his sworn duty.

We do not pretend to claim the exclusive credit of this auspicious result of the faithful discharge of duty for Gov. Wright. The Sheriff of Delaware and his officers, and the citizens serving in the posse of the Sheriff, all did well. The officers and men of the military battalion were faithful and efficient in the discharge of their duties. The courts and their officers acted wisely, firmly and independently. So of the officers, citizens, military, and the courts of justice of the other counties. All we desire to say is, that, with all these, the Governor discharged his duty calmly and firmly. Men of all parties, feelings and opinions, called upon him, consulted with him, invoked his action, and acted with him, during these disturbances, and we confidently challenge each and all to say whether, at any time, or upon any point, his readiness to discharge his whole duty appeared to be influenced by a thought of his personal popularity, or by the effect his acts might have upon the votes of this or that class of men.

The armed resistance to the laws being thus terminated, and the insurrection ended, in his annual message transmitted to the Legislature on the 6th of January, 1846, Gov. Wright discussed fully the relations existing between the landlords and the tenants of the leasehold estates; examined the subjects of complaint on the part of the tenants, and in his usual frank and explicit manner recommended to the Legislature such modifications of the existing laws as he supposed just and within the constitutional power of the Legislature. That message is before the public, and all know, or can see, what his recommendations were, while the statute book will show how far they were followed by the Legislature.

In these official acts of Gov. Wright is to be found one of the causes of his defeat, as a candidate for Governor at the late election. The great mass of the anti-renters opposed him and contributed to that defeat. This should not be considered strange, and was not unexpected. The position which the Governor was forced to assume towards them during the first year of his term, could not have failed to draw upon him their decided hostility. They were acting under a strong excitement. That excitement was studiously

fanned by demagogues who circulated among the honest tenants; harangued them upon the subject of their wrongs; urged them to resistance by force as their right, and certainly as their only way to secure redress; and impelled them forward from simple complaint to open bloodshed, having for their only object the political advantages they could derive from the excited action of these honest men. It was not in human nature to expect that, thus excited, and their confidence yet unshaken in those who have designedly misled them, they could give their votes for the man who had been mainly instrumental, in their estimation, in defeating their excited hopes. And especially could it not have been expected that they would so vote to continue that individual in the very position in which he had proved so much in their way.

The surprise, if any, is, that the other citizens of the State should have been willing to sacrifice an officer, who had thus discharged his duty. And what is more surprising is the fact, that democrats, or men professing to be such, should have thus surrendered a tried and inflexible democrat to the hands of enemies, *made such by the faithful discharge of his duties to them and to their party, which was responsible for his acts.*

The anti-rent vote, as we have said, was a cause of Mr. Wright's defeat. An analysis of the anti-rent vote, as nearly as that can be made from the official canvass, will show that it was not powerful enough to be the cause. That vote is almost entirely confined to this Senate District. The change in the district in reference to the vote for Mr. Wright, between that given at the election of 1844 and that given at the late election, is 10,684. Of this change 601 are found in the city of Albany and the towns of Watervliet and Coeymans, where there is no anti-rent vote. This will leave the anti-renters to have changed but 2192 in this county, while the whole change in the county is 2793 votes. In the city of Troy where there is no anti-rent vote, the change is 270 votes, while the whole change in Rensselaer county is 1336, leaving 1066 to have been changed by the action of the anti-renters. In the towns of Catskill and Prattsville, in Greene county, where there is no anti-rent vote, the change is 145 votes, while the whole change in the county is 861, leaving to have been changed by the anti-rent vote 716. In the town of Fulton, in the county of Schoharie, the change is 182 votes. In this town there is some anti-rentism, but a comparison of the results upon the whole ticket, and also of former elections, will present the means of judging how far the anti-rent influence can have been instrumental in producing this change. The majority now given in the town against Gov. Wright is 38. In 1844 it was 144 in his favor. The majority now given in the town for Gardiner over Fish for Lieut. Gov. is 388. The majority for Hudson, democratic Canal Commissioner, adopted by the anti-renters, over Clowes, whig Canal Commissioner, also adopted by the anti-renters, is 215; and the majority for Allen, democratic Canal Commissioner, not on the anti-rent ticket, over Cook, whig Canal Commissioner, also not on the anti-rent ticket, is 213. The majority for the democratic County Clerk, over the whig and anti-rent candidate, is 210.

In April, 1846, at the election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention, Gov. Bouck, a resident of this town, was a candidate on the democratic ticket, running against the whig and anti-rent candidates, and his majority over the highest candidate on that ticket was 239. A part of this majority may have proceeded from personal and local feeling towards a citizen of the town. John C. Wright, however, a conservative, was running upon the same ticket with Gov. Bouck, and received a majority in the town of 144 over the highest whig and anti-rent candidate. This is probably a fairer test of the full democratic vote of the town, compared with the whig and anti-rent vote combined, than is the vote given for Gov. Bouck at the same election. This was the result in the town of Fulton, in April last, and now the whig and anti-rent candidate for Governor gets a majority over Gov. Wright of 38, making a change from April to November, of exactly 182 votes, just the change in the town, upon the Governor's vote, between the elections of 1844 and 1846. At the same November election of this year, the other principal democratic candidates received majorities of from 210 to 215, as before stated.

These changes in this district, not attributable to anti-rentism, as above enumerated, amount together to 1198 votes, which taken from the entire change in the district, will leave but 9,486, a number of votes too small to overcome the majority given to Gov. Wright in 1844. This, too, is passing to the credit of the anti-rent influence the whole change in the district, except in the few very limited points named, while all know that extensive changes were made in the district at other points, and in other towns than those named, which had no connection with the anti-rent feeling. Anti-rentism, therefore, was a cause, but not the cause of the defeat of the democracy.

Another test is conclusive upon this point. Thomas Clowes was one of the regular whig candidates for the office of Canal Commissioner, and was adopted by the anti-rent party. Mr. Clowes was a candidate possessing just the strength of his party, no more and no less, not being obnoxious particularly, and not possessing any popularity beyond his ticket. He would, therefore, be likely to present the fair whig and anti-rent strength combined, unaffected by other influences which have been exerted at this election. Cornelius L. Allen was a candidate for the same office upon the democratic ticket, not adopted by the anti-renters, and was a sound unexceptionable candidate, certain to receive the fair vote of his party.

Mr. Clowes received of the whig and anti-rent votes, 197,851.

Mr. Allen received of pure democratic votes, 190,596.

Clowes' majority over Allen, 7,255, which is the fair strength of the combination of whiggery and anti-rentism against the single handed democracy, who have stood by their party and their principles in this contest. Here is not difference enough, by more than four thousand votes, to account for the result of the election of 1846.

In our next we shall examine another of the causes of this singular result.



## No. II.

In a former article we examined the subject of anti-rentism and the anti-rent vote, as a cause of the result of the recent Election in this State.

Certain local interests connected with internal improvements present another cause, which requires like examination, to which we propose to devote this article.

All who have made themselves at all acquainted with the politics of this State, for the last twenty years, know that the great subject of internal improvements, has been one of constant agitation, and has been, almost continually during the whole period, intimately connected with, or exerting a strong influence upon the movements of the two great political parties.

Before the Erie and Champlain Canals, the great works of internal improvement of the State, were completed, applications for lateral canals were pressed upon the legislature, and two, the Oswego and the Cayuga and Seneca canals, were adopted, and their construction commenced.

The payment of the debt to be incurred for the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals, was constitutionally provided for by the Convention of 1821; but the laws authorising the construction of the Oswego and Cayuga and Seneca canals, commenced a debt upon the people of the State for internal improvements, for the payment of the interest upon which, as well as for the extinguishment of the principal, the public creditors had no other security than legislative pledges of the faith of the State, and against the burden of which the people had no other protection than legislative fidelity.

Every Statesman saw and felt that this was the commencement of a new era in the financial affairs of the State, and that, unless some sound rule, for the government of legislation in reference to these loans and expenditures, could be adopted and adhered to, the dangers of an oppressive debt upon the people, without adequate means to meet the interest and redeem the principal, other than by taxation, were then threatening and must constantly increase. Projects for new canals were multiplying with every succeeding legislative session, and surveys, at the public expense, were rapidly sweeping within their lines an influence sufficiently powerful to control the legislature. To these official and authoritative surveys others were added, made by Engineers in the employ of private individuals, or associations, all presenting, so far as the reports of Engineers were to be relied upon, cheap and practicable routes for very useful and profitable canals.

In the winter of 1827, Mr. WRIGHT was a member of the State Senate, and the Chairman of the committee on canals of that body, and among the great number of applications of this character pressed upon the attention of the committee, were no less than three for the construction of canals between the Erie canal and the Allegany river. Upon one of these petitions the committee made an elaborate report, laying down the principles upon which it thought the legislature should act, in disposing of all these applications for new canals. In the financial aspect,

the principles laid down and advocated in the report, were,

1. That the State should possess the means to construct the work, or to pay the interest, and redeem the principal of the loans to be made to construct it, without taxation upon the people: or;

2. That the legislature should be satisfied, from authentic data presented, that the income of the canal, when finished, together with such auxiliary aid as the treasury of the State should be able to afford, without taxation, would make these payments, or;

3. That if the construction of the proposed work was likely to bring taxation upon the whole people of the State, the legislature ought not to authorise the expenditure, and a debt to be contracted upon the credit of the State for that object, until this conclusion had been made known to the people of the State, and they had signified their willingness to submit to the tax to secure the making of the canal.

These principles were considered sound and practical by the legislature to which the report was made; and, as the report demonstrated that the treasury of the State was not then in a condition to extend auxiliary aid for the construction of any new canal, and that no canal, not more productive than the Erie and Champlain canals had then proved themselves to be, could pay for its repairs and superintendence, and meet the interest and redeem the principal of a debt for its construction solely by loans, no new canals were authorised during that session.

Still, at that early day, the ground was taken, and strongly urged, that, as the State had made the Erie canal for the central counties, equal justice to the citizens of the border counties required that lateral canals should also be made, at the public expense, for their benefit, irrespective of the consideration of the income to be derived from them. The great body of the democratic party, however, adhered firmly to these sound and safe financial principles in the sessions of 1827 and 1828, and no new canals were authorised in those years.

The great mass of the opposite party in the legislature, advocated every expenditure of this character, and constantly added to their legislative strength, as democratic representatives, yielding to their own interests, or feeling impelled by the interests and wishes of their counties and districts, took the side of expenditure, irrespective of income, and in defiance of taxation; or as counties changed their representation by the force of their local interests.

In this way these questions of internal improvement became frequently, and almost constantly, involved in the State elections, and mixed up with the movements of the respective political parties.

During six years after Mr. Wright's report was made to the Senate, the expenditures on new projects of internal improvements, in violation of the sound principles of that report, were restricted to less than half a million of dollars. Then the Chenango canal was authorized and constructed at a cost of about two and a half millions of dollars, which has not up to this time yielded a revenue equal to the average cost of its repairs

and superintendence, and nothing to pay upon the interest and principal of its debt.

Other like expenditures, less in amount, but even more unpromising as to revenue, were added to the list, and while the means were preserved, as the constitution required, to meet the Erie and Champlain canal debt, the debt of the State for the construction of canals was not diminished.

It is not to be denied that this new line of policy, that of expenditure without reference to revenue, adopted by the aid of the opposite party, but pursued by the Democrats when in power, caused a difference in principle between leading and prominent members of that party. This difference, however, was not permitted to disturb the harmony of the party, in reference to its action against its political opponents, because those who held to the safe financial rules and principles, believed the expenditures yet to be within the power of the revenues of the canal fund, and they saw more safety in the administration of their erring brethren, so long as they should keep within this limit, than in the hands of their opponents, who advocated expenditures of this character without rule or limit. It was hoped too, when the works, which have been referred to, should have been completed, that the business of expenditure would stop, and that of debt paying would commence.

Before this time arrived, however, propositions to enlarge the Erie Canal, originating during that period of expansion and speculation, when public credits were firm, money cheap, and millions of dollars were looked upon as little more than hundreds had usually been, took so strongly, not merely with the whig party, but with large portions of the democratic party along the line of that great work, that direct resistance was utterly hopeless. The friends of the Black River and the Genesee Valley Canals subsequently united with this vast movement, and the combined force was wholly irresistible. Those who entertained sound principles upon the subject of these expenditures, and really desired to see a safe, debt-paying policy pursued, had but one alternative.—They must throw themselves before the current and be swept away by it, or stepping aside to let it pass, they must strive to direct its course and restrain its flow within the principles of safety. Yielding, therefore, to the enlargement, they sought to modify the dimensions of the enlarged canal, and succeeded to some extent in their effort. They accomplished, however, what was much more important to the tax-payers of the state; which was a restraint of expenditures upon the work within the means furnished by the current canal revenues. This was engrafting upon a magnificent scheme of public expenditure, the "pay as you go" principle; a triumph in defeat; a protection against debt and taxation in the midst of extravagance.

In this rule of expenditure there was too much safety for whig politicians, and the cry was raised that the slow movement of the enlargement was to lose to New-York her splendid inland trade; that she was in her shell; had lost rank and caste, and that her sister Pennsylvania was upon the point of reaping the noble harvest of her canal revenues. Masses of men of both political parties, scattered along the lines of some six hun-

dred miles of public works, had become personally interested in their prosecution, some as contractors on the works; some as speculators in lots, farms and tracts of lands, the value of which it was expected would be enhanced by the completion of the canals; some as merchants and farmers furnishing supplies for those vast works; and thousands upon thousands as laborers upon the jobs. All these were naturally caught by "the more speedy impulse", and the feeling thus excited, acting with the pecuniary embarrassments of 1837, threw the State into the hands of the whigs in 1838.

Then commenced the hastened policy, and the safe principle, "pay as you go," was surrendered for the whig golden rule, "borrow while you can." The canal debt was stated by Gov. SEWARD, when he came into power, to be \$7,048,285.76 beyond the amount accumulated for the payment of the Erie and Champlain canal debt, and at the expiration of three years, when the democrats recovered the legislative power of the State, although he was still in office, it was ascertained to be \$20,444,661.09, after deducting available funds on hand applicable to the payment of the debt. Thus, in this short period, there had been added to the canal debt of the State the enormous sum of \$13,396,375.33; and although almost every thing had been begun, almost nothing had been finished, except the credit of the State and the money in the treasury. At the commencement of this period, loans could be made, upon the credit of the State, at an interest of 5 per cent, and a liberal premium obtained. At the close of it our 6 per cent stocks could not be sold in the market short of a loss of 22 per cent, and loans could not be made upon 7 per cent stocks, without a specific pledge of certain means to pay the interest. Such were the practical fruits of the "more speedy impulse policy" of the whigs.

This state of things forced the true democracy, those who had adhered to sound and safe financial principles, to take a stand upon those principles, and, by bringing them into practice, to restore the credit and save the honor and faith of the State. This was done in the great financial act of 1842; an act which has immortalized the patriotic Statesman who framed, and boldly advocated it, and the legislature which passed it.

It is not to be denied, or disguised, however, that there were democrats, and those of prominent standing and extended influence, who looked upon this sound measure with deep distrust, and who either did not support it at all, or gave it a reluctant and hesitating support. A very little time proved that this class of democrats held opinions in relation to this law precisely similar to those held by the federalists of 1787 in relation to the constitution of the United States. They considered that its value would be determined by the manner in which it should be construed and executed. If it should be used as a mean to strengthen public confidence and restore the credit of the State, and then should be so construed as to permit these great public expenditures to proceed, it would be a most judicious and excellent measure. If, on the contrary, it should be executed in its spirit, and as its title declares, *to pay the debt and preserve the credit of the State,*

then it would be to be deprecated and resisted. Around these men rallied the contractors, the laborers, the speculators, and all kindred interests, and the entire whig party in the legislature, reduced to a small minority, was at all times ready with its aid, whenever an encroachment upon the provisions of this law was attempted.

Here commenced, not the division in principle in the democratic party in reference to expenditures for internal improvements, but the practical division of action as a party. This division was first manifested in the nominating conventions, and uniformly acted with another pecuniary interest, which we shall trace in a future article.

Gov. Bouck had been the unsuccessful candidate for the office of Governor in 1840, and by a rule from which the democratic party of this State has never departed, he was generally expected to be again the candidate in 1842. Still it was known that, at the time of the passage of the financial act of that year, he was in favor of making a foreign loan of six millions, and going on with the public works, rather than to adopt the provisions of that law, and thus legalize that stoppage of the works, which the want of money and the failure of the credit of the State, under whig management, had occasioned. This knowledge, coupled with the extreme anxiety for his nomination of all those democrats who were in favor of going on with the public expenditures, caused many of the soundest democrats of the State to fear the effect of his election. Yet, his nomination was not opposed, and being nominated, he received the cordial support of the whole party.

His administration lost him the confidence of the great body of the democracy because it was apparent from the first to the last day of it, that the classes of men we have named, the contractors, the speculators, and those favorable to a renewal of the old system of expenditure, alone possessed his confidence and exerted an influence over his acts. He did not, it is true, recommend the repeal of the law of 1842 in his messages, or a violation of its provisions without a repeal, but his friends and confidants were those known to be favorable to a policy wholly opposed to that of the law of 1842.

Hence mainly the call for a change, and for a different candidate for the office of Governor in 1844, and this consideration, added to the importance of the presidential election, forced Mr. Wright into that position, as described in our former article under this head. His nomination was opposed by those interests with their extremest efforts, and the result in the State Convention was a vote of 30 for Gov. Bouck to 95 for Mr. Wright.

Scarcely had the nomination been made, when Mr. Wright was addressed by friends of the Black River and Genesee Valley Canals, to call forth his views upon the subject of re-opening expenditures and completing these canals. These calls were promptly and frankly answered, and Mr. Wright's friendship for the law of 1842, and for its provisions and policy, and his determination, if elected, to execute it in its substance and spirit, were distinctly declared, and his vote in the canal counties was diminished in consequence.

The very strong interest felt by the democracy

in the Presidential and State tickets caused less attention to the minor nominations, and produced more ready yielding to questionable candidates for the sake of harmony, at this election of 1844, than is usual, and the consequence was that an unusual number of candidates attached to the conservative portion of the party were returned to the House of Assembly.

It was soon apparent that the canal and financial policy of the State was to be made a matter of open controversy between these conservative members, aided by the whigs, and the body of the democratic party, and the passage through the legislature of the canal bill vetoed by Gov. Wright, in May, 1845, brought this controversy to a distinct issue, and submitted it, in that shape, to the people of the State.

The question was decided by the people, as the same issue had been time and time again decided by them. Indeed the issue was not fairly and openly met, at the elections, either by the conservatives, or by the whigs, although both sought to return candidates to the legislature opposed to the veto and its author. The result was the election of 72 members to the Assembly upon the democratic tickets, of whom only 12 proved to be conservatives, and four of these were from the city of New York, and clearly misrepresented their constituents.

The majority of this little body united with the whigs upon almost every occasion, when political questions came up, during the legislative session of 1846, and frequently were enabled to form a combination sufficiently powerful to vote down the democrats. No attempt, however, was made to try the Governor again in relation to public expenditures, in violation of the law of 1842, although active and bitter hostility to him, and to his veto of the previous year, was thinly disguised, when disguised at all, by an attempt to find a ground for the enmity in his appointments to office. No one complained that he did not appoint democrats, and those too of sound principles, personal integrity, and fair standing; but the complaint was that he preferred such, to the members and instruments of this conservative faction.

This division in the democratic party, thus predicated and thus rising up, of course brought upon the side of the conservatives, or of the whigs, and in the legislature of 1846, altogether on the side of the latter, the influence of those sections of the State controlled by the desire that public expenditures should be re-opened and the unfinished canals completed, irrespective of the condition or obligations, of the public debt. The counties of Lewis and Allegany, the former located upon the Black River, and the latter on the Genesee Valley Canal, were peculiarly in this condition. In these two counties, the personal and local interests in favor of their canals were, in 1844, with portions of the voters, stronger than their attachment to political principles, or party usages, and Mr. Wright's vote fell behind in both. The veto of the Canal bill, as a necessary consequence, increased the hostility against him in these counties, and the canvass of 1846 shows the agency it exerted in producing his defeat.

In the year 1844, Lewis county gave a majority in favor of Mr. Wright of 425, and this year it has given a majority against him of 658, thus show-

ing a change in this small county, from the one election to the other, of 1083 votes, caused, doubtless, principally by the canal feeling, though it may appear hereafter that another influence has not been wholly inoperative in this locality.

The county of Allegany has been divided since the election of 1844, and portions of it have been attached to Wyoming and Livingston counties.—It is not in our power, therefore, to trace this influence, in the territory which composed Allegany county in 1844, in any other way than by comparing the canvass of the three counties of Allegany, Wyoming and Livingston, at the elections of 1844 and 1846. This comparison can not bring us to a result far from the truth, as we believe that the towns composing the original counties of Wyoming and Livingston have not increased their whig majorities over those given in 1844. This comparison will stand as follows: The county of Allegany, as it existed in 1844, gave a majority against Mr. Wright of 554 votes, and now, after four of its towns have been taken from it, it gives a majority against him of 695 votes, being an increase upon the majority of 1844 of 141. The county of Wyoming, as it existed in 1844, gave a majority against Mr. Wright of 657 votes, and now, after having received two towns and a part of a third from Allegany, it gives against him a majority of 1,113, being an increase upon the majority of 1844 of 426. The county of Livingston, as it existed in 1844, gave a majority against Mr. Wright of 1,029, and now, after having received one town and part of another from the county of Allegany, it gives a majority of 1,442 against him, being an increase upon the majority of 1844 of 413. These make an aggregate increase of the majority against Mr. Wright, in the three counties, of 950 votes over that given in 1844.

The county of Cattaraugus is upon the Genesee Valley Canal, and the canal feeling prevails in some of its towns. The majority given against Mr. Wright, in this county, in 1844, was 127, and now it is 457, an increase of 330 votes, probably mainly imputable to this local feeling. These changes in the vote, between the two elections, amounting together to 2393 votes, may be very fairly set down to the influence of the local feeling in favor of the immediate completion of these two canals, although we shall have occasion, in a future article, to remark upon other influences distinctly traceable to, and active in, the counties of Lewis and Allegany.

It may be that other towns, and limited localities, were influenced, and their votes affected, in the same way, but if so, we have not the means of tracing the extent of the change of vote in consequence. It is probable that some towns in Oneida feel a strong interest in favor of the Black River Canal, though it is very doubtful whether that influence, or a different one, has given the decisive inclination to their vote at the late election.

It is probably true that a desire for the immediate enlargement of the Erie Canal may have caused some votes to be cast against Mr. Wright in particular localities, and it is believed that, in two or three of the western counties, efforts were made to excite a local prejudice against him upon this point. A comparison of the official canvasses of the two elections, however, will prove be-

yond dispute, that no influences of this character, which can be viewed as local, have existed, or have been exerted, to a sufficient extent to have produced Mr. Wright's defeat, unaided by other causes. These again, like the anti-rent excitement, have been a cause, but not *the* cause of that defeat.

We propose, in our next article, to trace *the cause*, and as it will constantly connect itself with the internal improvement questions and interests, it will be important that our readers should bear carefully in mind the history here given of the connexion of these questions and interests with the politicians, and political movements, of the various periods.

### No. III.

Soon after the adoption of the Safety Fund Banking System, in this State, in the year 1829, one of our most sagacious and experienced and sound democrats remarked, that the system would be a great improvement, and would work well, if it did not have the effect to make the chartering of Banks popular acts of legislation; while, if it did have that effect, the security afforded to the public might be too dearly paid for.

This remark was truly prophetic, as time has shown, and points to *the cause* of the defeat of the democratic party at the late election, though the workings of that banking system are to be traced through various stages, to bring the immediate cause of this political result clearly into the light. The history will show that this is not the first, nor the second defeat, which the democracy of the State has sustained, from the same general cause. It will also show that the fault is not in the system, but in its abuse, and that the abuses have proceeded mainly from the fact that the system possessed so many excellencies as to enable the selfish and designing to render the chartering of banks upon it popular with the people, and to retain the public confidence in it, until the grossest abuses were practiced.

This banking system was recommended to the legislature by Mr. Van Buren, when Governor of the State, and was adopted by the legislature to which the recommendation was made. It was opposed by the federal party in the legislature, as a party, and was also opposed by those who held the then existing banks, as containing restrictions too stringent, and imposing burdens and liabilities too heavy, for the prosperity of institutions chartered under it. The conductors of many of the banks protested most strongly that the institutions would not accept of charters under this system, and alarm was felt, by some, lest the State should be left without the ordinary banking facilities, in consequence of this great change in the character of its legislation on this subject.

The division of parties in the legislature, upon the adoption of the system, had given to it, at the commencement, a semi-political character, and the threats of the banks to refuse charters under the new system, gave to applications for charters a sort of character of patriotism with the democracy. Time was given to the existing banks to come in under the safety fund, and in

the mean time applications for new charters under it were by no means wanting.

The result proved that the old banks all came in and accepted charters, while new ones were granted rather with readiness than with reluctance. The times were good, and the old institutions and the new, which complied with the requirements of the safety fund law, went into successful and prosperous operation. The public confidence acquired a strength in the new banks not before known to exist towards institutions of this character; investments in the stocks were universally sought; the stocks rose to a high premium, and every year multiplied the applications for new charters. The high price of the existing stocks was held to be conclusive evidence that the legitimate demand for banking capital had not been reached, and charters continued to be granted by the legislature, if not cheerfully, with very little show of opposition.

As natural, and almost necessary, consequences, flowing from this state of things, a strife took place for the possession of the stocks, and for the control of the institutions, wherever new banks were authorised; prominent democrats became active in obtaining charters; the political division upon the adoption of the system was referred to, to show that its friends, and not its enemies, should be favored under it; democrats became Presidents, and Cashiers, and Directors of Banks, and democratic banks were talked about, as institutions essential to, if not inseparable from that political party.

The passion for the stocks did not confine itself to private citizens. Persons holding offices in all the departments of the State government were to be found among the subscribers for, and the recipients of, the new stocks, thus lending the influence of their names and example to the banking impulse. Even members of the legislature became subscribers and competitors for the stocks their votes had contributed to create, and some justified the practice, as a legitimate way of indemnifying themselves for the time and services, for which their legislative pay was considered an inadequate compensation.

There were officers connected with the State government, who did not indulge in these practices, and who openly remonstrated against them; and we have before us the authority of the *Argus* for saying, that Mr. Wright, Mr. Flagg and Gen. Dix, were of this number. Although no open schism was caused in the democratic party, in consequence of this difference of views touching these practices, and this rapid increase of the banking capital of the State, it was very well known that the differences of opinion existed, and that those who abstained from any connection with the stocks apprehended imminent danger to the currency, and to all the monetary interests of the whole people, from this sudden extension of the manufacture of paper money, and believed that the manner of disposing of the stocks was equally dangerous to the political morality of the State. A difference of feeling was thus excited, precisely such as is likely to exist, when the obligations of public duty are urged against the promptings of personal interest.

In the midst of this state of things, and this state of feeling, Mr. Wright was elected a sena-

tor, and left the Comptroller's office early in January 1833. From this period until 1844, his public service was in the Senate of the United States, and his residence, when at home, in the remote village of Canton, St. Lawrence county, so that he had little immediate connexion with the legislation, or the affairs of the State.

Still his opinions upon questions of public interest were never concealed, but frankly and fully expressed; and it was perfectly known to the whole State that he held firmly to the sound and safe rules and principles, on the subject of internal improvements, laid down in his report, when in the State Senate, and referred to in a former article, and that he held to equally sound and safe rules and principles upon the subject of banks and banking.

The public mind became, at last, somewhat alarmed on account of the multiplication of bank charters, and difficulties were encountered in obtaining their passage through the legislature.— This brought about a union between the bank and internal improvement interests, and the democrats who advocated enlarged expenditures for local objects and interests, and those who advocated a farther multiplication of the banks, became gradually consolidated as a separate influence existing within the democratic party, and more emphatically in the Halls and Lobbies of the Legislature. This influence was very generally, and came to be widely felt in the nominating conventions, but was not, until 1837, exerted at the elections, against the regularly nominated candidates, to any very considerable extent. Indeed it was exerted in the conventions rather insidiously, than openly; rather as a preference for a particular candidate averred to be sound and true as a democrat, than as an effort to carry out these principles and this policy. It was, in this early stage, an effort to substitute the usages of the democratic party for its principles, and to secure the election of unsound candidates when once nominated, by the strength of those usages.— These struggles for nominations were constantly becoming more labored and earnest, and the feeling excited was annually assuming more of a partizan character. Yet no distinct act of this combination, of a character hostile to the other portion of the democratic party, is recollected to have taken place till the winter of 1837. Mr. Wright's first term of service, in the Senate of the United States was to expire on the 3rd of March of that year, and an election to supply the vacancy was to be made by the legislature on the 7th of February. A secret, but vigorous movement was made to defeat his re-election, and the accidental discovery of the plot, a very few days only before the election, prevented the attempt from being successful, though, once known to the public, it vanished almost in a day, and the authors of the movement were scarcely to be found.

At this time the banking mania under the safety fund system had reached its culminating point. The last batch of these charters had been granted by the previous legislature, in 1836, and the premonitory symptoms of the pecuniary revulsion, which the month of May 1837 brought upon the State and country, were doubtless painfully felt by the banks and speculating interests, at the time of the Senatorial election. Any trouble in

the working of the artificial paper system seemed to exasperate its democratic friends against their political brethren, who had entertained and advocated sound views and principles upon that subject; and any derangement in the affairs of the banks, was felt by the internal improvement interests, as perceptibly as the thermometer feels the changes of temperature.

These associations and apprehensions were doubtless one principal cause for this assassin-like blow at Mr. Wright in 1837; but the discharge of his duties at the seat of the national government, had given fresh provocation to these interests. The sagacious and patriotic Jackson had foreseen the paper gambling on foot, and that it was about to convert the whole vast public domain of the United States into irredeemable bank paper. Congress having adjourned without taking any steps to avert this consummation, in July, 1836, he issued his celebrated *specie circular*, so called, and Mr. Wright publicly approved of the act. This was an offence to these interests, which could not be forgiven, and hence, as well as for his rigid principles upon the subjects of public expenditures and banking, he must be struck from his place in the Senate, if these combined influences could give the blow.

In May, 1837, all the banks of this State, and nearly of the whole Union, suspended specie payments. Some eight millions of dollars of the moneys of the United States were then on deposit with the State banks, and the laws of Congress prohibited, in express terms, the receiving, or paying out, in the business of the United States, the notes of any bank, which were not payable, and *paid*, on demand, in gold and silver. The treasury of the country was literally locked up by this movement of the deposit banks, and an extraordinary call of Congress was forced upon the President, to enable him to carry on the government. Mr. Van Buren was then the President, having been inaugurated on the 4th of March previous. Mr. Wright was a member of the Senate, and the chairman of the committee on finance of that body. It was his duty to turn his earnest attention to the posture of affairs. He had been one of the most active and determined in getting rid of a National Bank, as the depository of the national treasure; and then his confidence in the State banks had induced him to favor the transfer of that trust to those institutions. Now, they had proved wholly unsafe, if not unfaithful, and the question addressed itself to him in an especial manner, what should be done?

He at once saw that nothing could be done but to make the national treasury its own depository, and to render it wholly independent of all banks. These views were freely declared by him before the meeting of Congress, at the special session.

At that meeting, in September 1837, President Van Buren transmitted to Congress his memorable message recommending the Independent Treasury. Mr. Wright, as the chairman of the committee on Finance of the Senate, reported the bill to carry this recommendation into effect, and advocated its passage with all the ability he could command. With material modifications in some particulars, the bill passed the Senate, some of the democratic members, and among them Mr.

Wright's colleague, making every possible opposition to it.

In the House of Representatives a sufficient number of the Democrats joined the Whigs to prevent the passage of the bill there, and it did not then become a law. Among the dissenting democratic members of the House, some five or six were from this State, out of about thirty democratic members then in the delegation.

Here commenced the *Conservative party* proper in this State, and Mr. Senator Tallmadge was its head and leader. Its members were the active, leading and influential members of the bank and internal improvement combination before spoken of, and its power was the power of the suspended banks over a deeply indebted community. These institutions held in their hands the pecuniary fortunes of many men high in power and influence in the State, and many of the conductors of the press; but no manifestations of political movements were made to alarm the democracy, and that party entered upon the legislative elections of the fall of 1837, with the ordinary confidence of success. The result was more like a rout than a defeat, and showed that treachery had been sowing its seeds broadcast over the State.

When the work was done, and the triumph achieved, a few, a very few, followed their leader. Tallmadge, forth into the light, joined hands with the Whigs, and boasted of their treason.—With this limited exception, while all could see that the votes had been given, which had prostrated the democratic party of the State, no one appeared to tell who had given them, or whence had come the fatal blow. Even men and presses more than suspected of strong opposition to the Independent Treasury, assumed to be surprised, astounded, defeated. Indeed, it is believed that the members of the House of Representatives from the State, who had voted against that measure, with perhaps a single exception, were among the number last mentioned.

In the years 1838 and 1839, the whole power of the State passed into the hands of the Whig party. This brought in a policy, which literally surfeited the peculiar appetites of the internal improvement and bank Democrats. "The more speedy impulse" was given to the public expenditures, and State Stocks were thrown upon the market in such profusion, as, in less than three years, to break down the credit of the State, in the manner described in our last article. A new system of banking was instituted, upon a show of perfect security to the public; and banks were manufactured under it with the facility of earthen vessels in a pottery, and after a very short working of the system, these banks broke with the rapidity and ease of these same earthen vessels.

Then the sound democracy again became strong, and in the fall of 1841 the Whigs lost the legislature, and in the fall of 1842 the entire power of the State. The new banking system had, in the meantime, effectually married together the internal improvement and bank interests in the democratic party, which had previously combined for mutual protection. This system, with its improvements, had made the stocks of the State necessary for banking capital, and the emission of those stocks was the life of the internal

improvement party. The Whigs, however, had shown that they could not do one thing, indispensable to the advancement of both these interests. They could not keep up the credit of the stocks and make them sell at par in the market. They could beat the democratic party in issuing the stocks, but not in selling them, and it had become indispensable to call the latter back to power for this single purpose. The credit of the State must be raised up, and the public confidence restored, and none but the old reliable democracy could accomplish these objects.

It was very plain however, even before the political revolution was effected, that the power of the democracy was restored, so far as this conservative party was concerned, only for these objects, and that it was not designed to substitute a debt-paying policy, for one of public expenditure, or to remodel the defective banking systems upon a basis of liability to the banker and security to the public.

The democratic legislature of 1842, however, and the Democrats themselves in their counties, had spoken into existence the debt-paying law of 1842, and had presented "the people's resolution" to the freemen of the State, as a constitutional principle. The law of 1842 was nominally assented to, but sought to be repealed by construction, and the identical line, which had marked the distinction between the democratic and conservative press, marked the discussions upon "the people's resolution." Attempts to incorporate the principle of the resolution into the Constitution, in the mode pointed out in that instrument, met exactly the opposition from the Conservative members of the legislature necessary to defeat it, while, when the Whig strength was sufficient to accomplish that object, it frequently received Conservative votes. The principle that the people themselves should be permitted to say when money should be borrowed upon their credit to make a canal, or railroad, was one too hard for a party claiming to be democratic to resist, and yet it was declared to be destructive to the conservative policy to adopt it.

Failing in every attempt, throughout the administration of Gov. Bouck, to incorporate this great principle into the constitution by the aid of the legislature, a vote of two-thirds of the members of the respective houses being required, the democracy, at the commencement of the administration of Gov. Wright, resolved upon a convention of delegates of the people for that purpose, and the legislature of 1845 passed a law submitting the call of a convention to the people.

So distinctly and repeatedly had this system of debt and expenditure, and of irresponsible and insecure banking, been condemned by the popular vote of the State, that even the whigs dare not take issue upon these questions, and when Gov. Wright's veto of the canal bill was transmitted to the legislature, the organ of the whig party, the editor of the Evening Journal, boasted that he had got his veto out first, he having published, in the Journal of the same afternoon, a severe article against the bill and its authors. The whigs in the legislature did not oppose the call of a convention, although the conservatives in both branches made organized and determined opposition to it.

This bill having passed, predictions began to be confidently made by the leading conservatives that the whigs would carry the legislature, at the fall elections of that year. Those elections came on, and the democracy carried the State strongly, nearly all the counties where the conservatives held the strongest influence having elected whig members to the Assembly. Still there proved to be about a dozen conservatives among the democratic members elected, several of whom were elected from counties where conservatism, known and avowed, would have been fatal to any candidate, they having been believed to be democrats, sound in principle, by those whose votes elected them.

The people of the State, at the same election, by an overwhelming vote, pronounced their verdict in favor of a convention, and, by necessary consequence, in favor of the principle of "the people's resolution," and the financial and banking reforms advocated by the democracy.

The Senate had been, for years, the body, for the possession and control of which this conservative faction had struggled the most desperately, and by the exertions made from the central points of the conservative organization to influence the nominations of the several Senate Districts, and the delusive pretensions and false pledges of the candidates urged by them, coupled with the long terms of Senators, they had been able to concentrate more strength in this body, than at any other point. For several years, the same individual who led the bolters from this State against the Independent Treasury bill, in the House of Representatives in the year 1837, led this party in the Senate; and upon his retirement from that body, at the close of the year 1844, several other congenial spirits, thoroughly educated in his school of political tactics and morals, were left behind to take charge of the interests of this selfish party.

Previous to this period the conservative party of 1837 had undergone material transformations, although several of its most prominent original members, the Senator referred to, and his immediate associates in his county, being conspicuous among them, remained at its head. The great mass of the honest democrats, deluded in 1837 and 1840, by the bug-bear stories about the Independent Treasury, had become convinced of the selfish objects of this faction, and had returned to the support of the sound democracy; the banks, as a body, had withdrawn from the political arena, finding it more for their interest and safety to attend to their legitimate business; the army of bankrupts, created by the speculations of the period from 1834 to 1840, had improved the opportunity presented by the law of Congress to discharge themselves from their debts, and had returned to some business pursuits for their support. These secessions had left but the skeleton of the original conservative party of 1837, the officers mostly without the men. The corps of office seekers, and disappointed office-holders and the speculators, who had not become absolutely bankrupt, and were holding on to their corner lots and fancy stocks, and waiting, and hoping for another inflation of the speculating bubble, remained. Now and then an individual bank, under the management of members of this party



and more rich in speculative than in sound convertible means, continued its connexion with the party, and its officers were seen to be active in proportion to the external pressure upon the bank for the payment of its liabilities.

The body of canal contractors, arrested in their work by the failure of the credit and means of the State under the Whig administration of Governor Seward, became clamorous for indemnity for losses upon contracts, which, until their execution was arrested, they represented as hard and severe in their terms and exactions. Being thus arrested, they had become contracts unprecedentedly profitable, and these profits upon the unfinished work was the indemnity sought. They were, by the legislature of 1843, turned over to the Canal Board for a settlement of their claims. That Board heard their proofs, and made them allowances to the amount of \$425,434.19 as nett profits upon \$2,567,251.96 worth of work remaining to be done, at the contract prices. The claims for indemnity were \$1,218,675.19, equal to 47½ per cent. and so far from satisfying the claimants, the allowances made only seemed to sharpen their appetites for still further profits upon this work, upon which they had not struck a blow, or expended a cent, and they appealed to the legislature for additional allowance.

The Whigs and Conservatives, as bodies of men, were found to favor these additional claims, and, as a natural consequence, those claimants, who were Democrats, to a very great extent, always, however, with honorable exceptions, attached themselves to the Conservative portion of their party. This was an accession most material and acceptable to the Conservatives, as it brought privates as well as officers to their ranks, in the men who desired work upon the contracts. Attacks upon the Canal Board became common to this party thus strengthened. Not the claims merely, but the offices upon the canals also, were the inducements to this warfare. The claimants wanted more money from the State, and the Conservative leaders wanted the offices for themselves and their adherents, and the influence of them for their party. Some of these contractors obtained elections to the Senate; and others to the Assembly, as Democrats, and the legislature of 1845, that legislature which forced the veto of the canal bill upon Gov. Wright, presented in the two houses several of this number, some of whom, at least, in person advocated bills for their private and personal benefit: and all urged the mass of claims in every form, and upon every occasion, where an opportunity was presented; and pressed, by their influence and votes the reopening of the whole system of public expenditures, with the same zeal which characterized their efforts in favor of the canal claims.

This course on the part of the Conservative party, this combination of it, could not fail to bring to its aid all these influences in favor of the unfinished canals, and the appropriations for railroads, and other local expenditures of a kindred character, which claimed to be democratic, but were ready to bend their democracy to the accomplishment of their favorite objects, of personal and local interest. In this way another accession of privates as well as officers was made to

this selfish party, the extent of which we have endeavored to exhibit in our last article.

The assaults of the combination continued to be directed against the canal board, until after the close of the session of the legislature of 1846, and were but incidentally and disguisedly turned upon Gov. Wright, though the hostility to him of the authors of the attacks upon the Canal Board was as perceptible to every reflecting man, as if he had been named with those expressly assailed. The Canal Board was composed of the Lieut. Governor and the four Canal Commissioners elected by the people upon the same ticket which elected Gov. Wright, and of the Secretary of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, Attorney General and Surveyor General, appointed by the legislature. The most of these men were Democrats, who had long enjoyed the confidence of the democracy of the State—men of tried and approved fidelity as public officers, and known to entertain sound views and principles touching the financial policy of the State. The morality of the attacks upon this Board, touching the canal claims, we are happy to know will be made manifest to the public, when a committee of the present legislature shall have reported the results of its investigations into canal abuses, which report may be looked for near the commencement of the next legislative session.

We cannot give a perfect embodiment of this conservative party of 1846, without presenting another accession, with a brief history of its accomplishment. The Albany Argus was established to become the party paper of the democratic party, at the seat of government, under the control of the late Jesse Buel as its editor and publisher, at a period during the late war with Great Britain. Under the conduct of Judge Buel, the paper acquired the confidence of that party, and a general circulation in the hands of its members throughout the State. Its present principal editor, Edwin Croswell, under the patronage, and by the pecuniary aid, of some of the prominent republicans of the State, became connected with the paper in the year 1823, as joint owner and editor. In 1824 the whole establishment was transferred to his name and control, and he was made sole State Printer, he having been, for the previous year, State Printer in conjunction with his co-editor, Mr. Leake. Mr. Croswell continued in this office, uninterruptedly, and without opposition from any portion of the democracy, up to the year 1840, when he was removed by the whigs to make room for Mr. Weed of the Evening Journal. Up to this time there must have been paid to him, as the proceeds of the office of State Printer, at least the sum of HALF A MILLION OF DOLLARS, wholly independently of the profits of a paper of far greater and more widely extended patronage than any democratic paper in the State enjoyed. Mr. Weed held the office for three years only, and retired from it a man of fortune, and grateful to his party.

Upon the restoration of the democracy to power, in 1842, Mr. Weed, by the law under which he had been appointed, had two years to serve.—The legislature passed a law to put an end to his term, but it met the veto of Gov. Seward, and Mr. Weed held on till 1843.



When the appointment of State Printer came on before the legislature of 1843, it was thought by many democratic members that the principle of rotation alone should give the office to some other person, rather than to Mr. Croswell. Indeed it was supposed, in 1842, when the subject was agitated, that Mr. Croswell himself appreciated the application of this principle to his case, and that he did not intend to be himself a candidate, but was desirous to connect with his printing office and paper, the person to be appointed.

In addition to the principle of rotation, which was conclusive upon democratic grounds, there was deep and wide spread dissatisfaction with the paper, as the organ of the democratic party, and with Mr. Croswell as its editor. He had been among the first, as he was one of the most pertinacious, of the public officers of the State, in urging bank charters upon the legislature and speculating in bank stocks. At the time of the suspension of specie payments by the Banks, in 1837, he was a heavy holder of bank stocks, and a heavy borrower from the banks, and the influence of these connections was thought to be manifest in the columns of his paper. His advocacy of the Independent Treasury, when advocated in his columns, was always neutralized by communications from other pens in opposition to it. So perfectly was this understood to be the character of the paper, at about this period, as to induce a leading and active conservative, then and now one of Mr. Croswell's strongest adherents, to say, when accused by a friend of having been in error politically upon this very subject, that he must then have read *the wrong column* of the Argus, for he always went by the Argus.

Mr. Croswell was reported, at that time, and has been from that time to the present, to be deeply engrossed in speculations generally; and the complaint was that these pecuniary interests, and not the Argus, or the affairs of the democratic party, commanded his attention and his time.

Still, when the choice of a State printer came on, in 1843, Mr. Croswell was a candidate, entering the lists with the whole conservative party, and all its combined influences organized in his support, and the whole influence of the administration of Gov. Bouck, to back the conservative effort. Neither personal feeling, nor political obligation, was permitted to stand in the way of his eager pursuit of this office which he had held for seventeen years consecutively, and which had paid him half a million of dollars. He was successful, thus aided, in obtaining the legislative caucus nomination over William C. Bryant; the sound democrat and able editor of the New-York Evening Post, and there all resistance to his appointment ceased. From that moment, however, he became part and parcel of the conservative party; its organ as an editor, and its leader as a politician. From 1837 to that time he had stood in a doubtful position, speaking one language and acting another, "looking one way and rowing the other," as the adage is; but now his eye and his movement took the same direction, and the assertion of Mr. Senator Tallmadge, that in his course in 1837, he had acted in consonance with the real feelings of the editor of the Argus, began to be verified by the acts of the editor himself.

This conservative party, thus bound together exclusively by selfish interests, and seeking only personal advancement and personal gain, we have already said was *the cause* of the defeat of Gov. Wright, and of the democratic party, in this State, at the late election. In a future article, we propose to bring the history up to the election; to show that this party, through its leaders, has combined the elements of opposition, stimulated them to their work, directed their efforts, and aided them by the votes of its members.

#### No. IV.

Our last article brought the history of the conservative party up to the legislative session of 1843, covering its complete formation by the open and declared accession of the Albany Argus and its editor. From that time until the nomination of Governor in the fall of 1844, very little occurred to change the relation of this combination towards the great body of the Democratic party.

The nomination of Gov. WRIGHT to succeed Gov. BOUCK was resisted by this party, to the last moment, by every effort and influence in its power; but being nominated, his election, so far as we know, was fairly supported.

The transactions of the legislature of 1845, touching the passage of the Canal bill and the veto thereon, have been noticed in a former article. Upon the subject of appointments to office there was much controversy, and two tried and approved democrats, selected and appointed to State offices by the sound legislature of 1842, were removed from office. One of them the people returned to the Senate, in the fall of the same year, and the other the legislature of 1846 put back into the place from whence he had been thus removed. The Canal bill consummated the efforts of the combination, and the veto of Gov. WRIGHT tendered an issue which it did not dare to meet, and did not meet, in a fair and manly manner.

As soon as it was ascertained by the fall elections of 1845 that the Democracy had carried the Legislature, and that the people had determined to call a Convention to revise the Constitution, the desperation of the faction appeared to increase. The legislature had scarcely assembled, when the Argus commenced its open assaults upon prominent democrats in and out of office; making the Canal Board the object of its daily vituperation, sparing the Governor by name, but aiming every arrow at him through the sides of some sound democrat and faithful supporter.

In this course the Argus was backed by certain prominent and leading conservative Senators, who spent days and weeks, regardless of the public business and of the people's money, in pouring out abuse upon some of the most estimable and influential democrats of the State.

Simultaneously with these proceedings commenced the predictions, on the part of the conservative leaders, that Gov. WRIGHT, if nominated could not be re-elected. Persons known to be hostile to him and to his measures, and who were in the daily habit of traducing both, were urged upon him for appointments to office, and their non-appointment was made the foundation for denouncing him.

Mr. Croswell's term of office as State Printer expired during the session of 1846; and at the usual time, the democratic members of the legislature met in caucus and nominated one of the editors of this paper to fill the place. Immediately the whigs and conservatives, under the lead of Mr. Croswell, united to resist an appointment; became deeply imbued with the spirit of reform; saw great abuses in the prices which had been paid to the State Printer, and proposed to abolish the office. This was very suspicious upon its face, but the movement was declaredly for reform and succeeded. It was then ascertained that Mr. Croswell's receipts from the office had been \$522,055 47, which certainly indicated flagrant abuses, and authorized the presumption that he must be perfectly acquainted with their existence and extent. Pretending deep gratitude for these enormous bounties, Mr. Croswell contracted to print gratuitously all notices required by law to be published in the State Paper for the succeeding two years. A bill, however, was shortly after introduced by a conservative Senator, and passed through the Senate, and but for the vigilance of a democratic member of the House, would have passed that body, the design and effect of which was to relieve Mr. Croswell wholly from a portion of his contract, and to secure to him his old and full prices for the residue. This was a piece of legislative jugglery, which few men would have asked a friend to attempt, and which few men would have attempted under any solicitation. Once detected and exposed, it was of course abandoned.

There is another amusing feature in this matter. One of the great points of the reform was to be the utter abolition of the office of State Printer, and one of the sections of the law passed is in these words:—

**"THE OFFICE OF STATE PRINTER IS HEREBY ABOLISHED."**

Upon this text, during the winter, Mr. Croswell preached columns to his readers of patriotic gratification at the great reform which the coalition of the conservatives and whigs had achieved, flourished forth in every form of typographical display; and lo! now, every day, the Argus goes forth to its readers, with the imposing sign at its head,

**"E. CROSWELL, STATE PRINTER."**

Being thus compelled, however, to agree, and find sureties, to do for nothing, what he had, for about eighteen years, received an average of from six to eight thousand dollars per year for doing, and which must be done at an annual expense of some ten or twelve hundred dollars, his malevolence against the democratic party in general, and Gov. WRIGHT in particular, became perfectly overpowering.

The elections for the Convention to amend the Constitution came on in April, and the moment a prominent democrat was nominated, in any of the counties, he met the sneers, the contumely, or the open opposition of the Argus, and the secret thrusts, or direct resistance, of the conservative party.

Witness Col. Young in Chemung, Mr. Perkins in St. Lawrence, Mr. Campbell in Steuben, Mr.

Hoffman in Herkimer, Mr. Stetson in Clinton, and Mr. Cambreleng in Suffolk, not to name other cases. The democracy, however, carried the Convention, despite the combined resistance of the conservatives and the whigs. Immediately commenced the canvass for the organization of the Convention, and at first Gov. Bouck was to be the President. A very little inquiry showed that such a movement would meet with signal defeat. Then Mr. Justice Nelson was the candidate, but this was found to be even worse, and then conciliation and harmony became the tone and language of the conservatives. The democracy moved steadily on, however, and placed JOHN TRACY, of Chenango, in the President's chair.

This seemed to cut away the last hope of the faction. The principle of "the people's resolution," and the financial policy of 1842 would become matters of constitutional law, in spite of the efforts of the Argus and its party, and the people would be secured against taxation for profligate expenditure, the losses by broken banks, and the tricks of fraudulent bankers, in defiance of the ten years labors of conservatism.

The batteries were, at once, opened upon Gov. Wright. The Utica Observer led off; the Argus hesitated, and faltered for a time, and finally fell in, and quite a number of the conservative journals of the State joined the cry. This forced on a canvass for the State nominating convention altogether prematurely, and certainly gave to the conservatives full time and opportunity to exert their influence. That body met on the first day of October, and, upon the first ballot, Gov. Wright received 112 votes to 14 for all others.—Never, in the history of the State, had an expression of the democratic party been made so unanimously, when there was the form of a contest as to the selection of a candidate for the office of Governor. Mr. Wright received 95 votes out of 125 upon his first nomination, a unanimity truly remarkable when there was a division of opinion in the party. Having discharged the duties of the office for two years, he received 112 votes out of 126 for a re-nomination, and that, when the same division had been studiously kept up for the whole two years.

The constitutional convention passed on and closed its labors, having incorporated into the Constitution, financial guards and securities, far beyond those contained in the law of 1842; covering, and more than covering every principle contended for in Gov. Wright's veto message; and having engrafted, in addition, to the full extent, the principle of "the people's resolution." This Constitution, upon its final passage, received the affirmative vote, of 104 out of 110 members of the Convention present.

The final issue was now reached. Of the adoption of the Constitution by the people, no doubt could be entertained, and if the administration of the government, at the time it must be put in operation, should be committed to the hands of Gov. Wright, and the sound democracy, farewell to the policy upon which the Conservative party depends. Mr. Wright must be beaten, and the power of the State thrown into the hands of the Whigs, as the last hope of a desperate faction.—The game of 1837, and of 1838, must be played

over, but as the elements of power, which could then be wielded by the Conservative party, had become greatly circumscribed, new elements of disaffection must be sought and made available.

What remained of the canal feeling was ready and marshalled. The force which could be kept alive of the canal contractors and claimants, had been constantly nursed with care, and could be depended upon to move at the signal. The Independent Treasury, that old and unpardonable offence of Mr. Van Buren, had been revived by the present Congress, and the prejudices against it and its authors must be again excited. The tariff had been modified, and Democrats connected with the woollen and iron interests must be alarmed for the effect upon their pockets, of the modified law. The Whigs must be aroused, and stimulated to organization and action, and encouraged with the hope of efficient aid and final success. Yet all these appliances might not be sufficient to render the object safe and certain.

The Anti-rent excitement was at hand, and must be brought into co-operation. The Whigs had done all in their power to bring it to their aid, but as yet without success. It prevailed mostly in democratic towns and counties, and was fearful of committing itself to the hands of federalism. A division of the two State tickets must be proposed to this party, to conciliate the democratic portion, and Mr. Young must be made to promise to pardon the Anti-rent prisoners, a step to obtain votes, which it was known Gov. Wright could not be made to take.

These, we verily believe, were the conservative deliberations, at this period, and these the grounds upon which the party proceeded to carry out this object of its treachery to the democracy and its coalition with the whigs.

We shall be called upon for the evidences of our belief. It is our object to give them.

The history of the course of this conservative party towards Gov. Wright, and his administration, from the day of his taking office, in January, 1845, to that of his renomination in October, 1846, has been sufficiently adverted to, and it will not fail to show the reader, at every step, demonstrative evidences of hostile feelings and intentions on the part of the prominent leaders.

Two county conventions of conservatives were held before the Democratic State Convention, the one in this and the other in Oneida county, and the proceedings were violently denunciatory and acrimonious, and breathed nothing but irreconcilable hostility. The senior editor of the Argus was a part, and the principal part, of that convention in this county, and the proceedings of the convention were published in the columns of that paper with marked approbation.

The first article in the Argus, announcing the re-nomination of Gov. Wright, bore a friendly aspect, and was well calculated to lull the suspicions of the democracy of the State as to hostility and opposition from that quarter; but not another article, which could be fairly called friendly to the nominee, appeared in the paper up to the day of election. On the contrary, every effort to bring together the two divisions of the democratic party, in this county, was uniformly and pertinaciously resisted by Mr. Crosswell to the last, and the names of the democratic candidates for

the Senate and for Congress, never appeared at the head of that paper, although the regularly organized democratic party of the county had yielded every other candidate than member of Congress upon the county ticket to the conservative selection, for the sake of restoring harmony to the party, if possible. So, when it was announced that the two divisions of the party in Oneida county had reconciled their differences, the Argus, at once, published a letter purporting to be from a correspondent in that county, declaring in the strongest and most unequivocal terms that the reconciliation was not to apply to the State ticket; and the Evening Journal, simultaneously, made the same announcement in language equally distinct and confident.

We have heard it reported, coming, second-hand to us, but through a most credible channel, that a member of a whig committee, in a northern county, produced and read to his committee a letter from Mr. Crosswell giving the assurance that no reconciliation had been effected, or could be effected, as to the State ticket, in Oneida county.

It is reported upon the authority of a person intimately connected with one of the papers, that the editors of the Albany Argus and the Albany Evening Journal were, for days and weeks before the election, in frequent confidential intercourse, and that the former communicated to the latter all such information as would enable him, as the principal whig leader at the centre of the State, to take advantage of the democracy in the contest; telling him where troubles and disaffections in the democratic ranks existed, or might be excited, and especially where the purse of the whig party might be beneficially applied.

All the conservative leaders here, the principal political associates of the editor of the Argus, constantly and confidently predicted the defeat of Gov. WRIGHT, while the most prominent of those under their influence, openly declared their hostility to him, and their determination to oppose him. Many of this latter class, with some of the leaders, were open in their exultations, after that defeat was known to have been accomplished.

Spurious tickets to deceive and cheat the voters were got up and circulated by members of the conservative party, in many counties where that organization is most perfect, and in this county two editions of such a ticket appeared at the polls, displaying more ingenuity in political fraud than has ever before met our notice. We can give a *fac simile* of this ticket in much shorter space than we can otherwise describe it to the understanding of our readers. It is as follows, with only the addition by us of the hand, to point to the principal fraud: [See head of next page.]

The words "*For Senator*," over the name of Governor Wright, put in a blind type as seen above, would not strike the notice of the unguarded voter, while the words "*For Governor, John Young*," in the type and placed in the position of the names of Coroners, would be equally unnoticed. It will be further remarked, that the ticket has the names of the whig canal commissioners and member of Congress. These tickets are now known to have been got up and procured to be printed by a very active conservative of this city,

**For Senator,**  
**SILAS WRIGHT.**

*For Lieutenant Governor,*  
**ADDISON GARDINER.**

*For Canal Commissioners,*  
**CHARLES COOK,**  
**THOMAS CLOWES.**

*For Congress,*  
**JOHN I. SLINGERLAND.**

*For Sheriff,*  
**ANDREW VANDERHEYDEN.**

*For Clerk,*  
**LAWRENCE VAN DUZEN.**

*For Assembly,*  
**BARENT P. STAATS,**  
**ROBERT D. WATSON,**  
**JOHN J. GALLUP,**  
**JOHN FULLER.**

*For Coroners,*  
**JOHN OSBORN,**  
**WILLIAM H. KEARNEY,**  
**JOHN YOUNG.**

a man intimate with, and almost exclusively under the influence, politically, of Mr. Croswell.— They were circulated principally, as far as the canvass shows, in this city and in the towns of Coeymans and Watervliet, in this county. The getter up of the ticket stood at the poll of his ward and perseveringly peddled it, after it had been discovered by the democrats. In Coeymans, its appearance was traced to the leading conservative of the town, he too being one of Mr. Croswell's political companions. A Doctor in Watervliet, who holds a lucrative post under the War Department, connected with the United States Arsenal at that place, is said to have industriously peddled this fraudulent ticket in that town. The canvass shows that 110 of them were actually voted in the county, as Gov. Wright has that number of votes for State Senator.

Among the conservative Senators who sustain the Argus, and have been sustained by it, in mutual and reciprocal assaults upon the most prominent democrats of the State, upon the Canal Board, and upon Gov. Wright, Calvin T. Chamberlain of the Sixth District, John C. Wright of the Third District, and Orville Clark of the Fourth District, are reported to have come out boldly for the whigs, and given their own votes, and used their utmost efforts to influence others to give theirs, for John Young. We believe that the two former freely, if not proudly avow their course, but have been recently told that the latter professes not to know what ticket he voted, saying it was handed him at the polls and he did not look at it, at the same time preserving a very ominous silence as to his exertions to influence others. Two other of these Senators, Thomas B. Mitchell of the Fourth District, and Carlos P. Scovil of the Fifth District, were out openly against the regularly nominated democratic candidates for Congress, in their respective districts, and although we believe they professed to favor the State ticket, we shall soon show the results in their counties, as the best evidence of their unfortunate efforts in that direction.

The results in the counties where these five so-called democratic Senators reside, and where their influence may fairly be considered as having been exerted, are worthy of notice. Mr. Chamber-

lain is a resident of Allegany county, and, in our second article under this head, we examined the vote of this county in 1844, and of the same territory, now forming a part of three counties, in 1846, and found a change in favor of the whigs of 980 votes. The feeling in favor of the Genesee Valley Canal doubtless aided the Senator in producing this great change among so limited a number of voters, and it is quite as certain that the conservative Senator aided and influenced that feeling to marshal itself in the whig ranks irrespective of political principles.

Schoharie is the county of the residence of Mr. Senator Wright, which gave, in 1844, a majority of 559 for Gov. Wright, and now gives 678 against him, making a change of 1237 votes. It is no doubt true that anti-rentism assisted this Senator to work out this strong result, but it is also true that Gov. Bouck, running against the combined whig and anti-rent strength of the county, was elected to the Constitutional Convention, in April last, and that the conservative Senator himself, running upon the same ticket, was beaten by a majority less by four or five hundred than that now given in the county against Gov. Wright. This shows pretty clearly the power exerted by conservatism in producing the present result in this county.

Mr. Senator Scovil resides in Lewis county, where, it was seen in our second article a change of 1053 votes has been produced since the election of 1844, in that article imputed to the feeling in favor of the Black River canal; and if it has been produced in defiance of the efforts of this Senator, it is fair to presume that his influence in favor of all parts of the democratic ticket was fatally impaired by his being openly in the field in favor of the whig candidate for Congress.

Montgomery county, the residence of Mr. Senator Mitchell, gave to Gov. Wright, in 1844, a majority of 462 votes, and now gives a majority against him of 413 votes, making a change of 875. Here no local feeling, or interest, or excitement, comes to the relief of the Senator, but an open and shameless coalition with the whigs to defeat the democratic candidate for Congress, entered into by himself and his conservative friends, worked out this revolution in Montgomery.

In these four counties, represented by the four conservative senators named, a change has been produced of 4175 votes in favor of the whigs upon the ballot for Governor, since the election of 1844; and yet these men were all elected as democrats, and have been paid by the people three dollars per day, for nearly every day of their time, for the two years during which these political results have been achieved.

Mr. Senator Clark resides in Washington county. He, last year, took the field against the democratic candidate for the Senate in his district; and as no one man usually cheats the democracy in this way more than once in two years, his county, notwithstanding his efforts, has this year diminished the Whig majority of 1844, 167 votes—a compliment rather to the Senators want of influence than to his democratic inclinations.

The changes of a like character in another very limited class of counties are equally worthy of remark. In Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Chenango counties, strong conservative organiza-

tions have existed ever since the formation of that party in the State, each of which are central points of the political influence and action of that party. A comparison of the votes of these four counties, at the two elections of 1844 and 1846, will show the following results:

|                | 1844.<br>Maj. for<br>Gov. Wright. | 1846.<br>Maj. against<br>Gov. W. | Changes in favor<br>of the Whigs. |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Oneida,.....   | 821.....                          | 1337.....                        | 2158                              |
| Onondaga,..... | 512.....                          | 133.....                         | 645                               |
| Cayuga,.....   | 333.....                          | 598.....                         | 931                               |
| Chenango,..... | 373.....                          | 61.....                          | 434                               |
|                | 2039                              | 2129                             | Total changes, 4168               |

Here is a change of 4,168 votes, imputable to no local interest or excitement, (any farther than the Black River canal feeling may have influenced some few of the towns in Oneida,) but solely to the organized effort of the Conservative party, to throw the State into Whig hands.

The county of Saratoga has increased its Whig majority of 1844, by 246 votes, a number too small to deserve particular notice here, were it not that this county has been heretofore looked to as one of the strong-holds of conservatism, and this result, although upon the face of the canvass plainly traceable to Conservative effort alone, gives gratifying evidence that the honest democracy of that once sound democratic county are coming to a proper appreciation of the objects of these selfish politicians, and of the influence they should be permitted to exert upon the votes of freemen.

In our first article under this head, we pointed out a change of 1198 votes, in the cities of Albany and Troy, and in the towns of Coeymans and Watervliet, in this county, Catskill and Prattsville, in the county of Greene, and Fulton in the county of Schoharie, not to be attributed to the influence of anti-rentism. These places embody the strongest portions of the Conservative party in these counties respectively, and no one acquainted with the localities, and the political influences prevalent within them, will question the propriety of imputing these changes to Conservative agency.

In the strong democratic counties of Herkimer, Chemung, and Steuben, prominent conservatives are located, and conservative organizations have been actively maintained. At the late election, in each of the Congressional districts, of which these counties compose a part, coalitions have been formed between the whigs and conservatives to elect, in the Chemung and Steuben districts, the regularly nominated whig candidates for Congress, and in the Herkimer district, a bolting democrat, who, as appears by the published hand bills of the whigs, was taken up on the condition that he and his friends should give their support to the whig Governor and Senator. These coalitions have been effectual in all the three Congressional districts, the whigs being elected in the two former, and the bolting democrat, said to be pledged to oppose the modified tariff of 1846, in the latter. In all these cases the Albany Argus distinctly favored the coalitions, if it did not directly oppose the election of the democratic candidates.—The influence produced upon the State ticket, and the democratic majorities, in these strong counties by this bolting of the conservatives, is as follows:—

|           | 1844.<br>Maj. for<br>Gov. Wright. | 1846.<br>Maj. for<br>Gov. Wright. | Change in favor<br>of the Whigs. |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Herkimer, | 1641                              | 647                               | 894                              |
| Chemung,  | 823                               | 878                               | 445                              |
| Steuben,  | 1242                              | 673                               | 670                              |
|           | 3606                              | 1597                              | Total changes, 2009              |

To this extent were the concerted efforts to break up these strong democratic counties and districts crowned with success. A like attempt was made in the St. Lawrence district, and a conservative was called out to unite the votes of the whigs and bolters. The county of Lewis, with its local question to aid the combination, was made to give nearly 1400 majority for the bolting candidate, but the stern and honest democrats of St. Lawrence proved too strong and too steady for the success of this attempt to break up a fourth democratic congressional district.

Here is a reference to 11,796 votes, changed from the democratic to the whig side of the poll list, imputable to the combined exertion of the conservative democracy, if there be not a contradiction in the terms, and to the local feeling for the lateral canals, combined with and marshalled by conservatism. To this aggregate, may be added the change in the county of Cattaraugus, 330 votes, supposed to be more clearly the fruit of the local feeling, and less distinctly impelled by conservative effort, than the changes in Allegany for Lewis. This will make a total change of 12,126 votes, clearly traceable to these combined causes, although it has been seen that the canal influence, if credited with the entire changes in Lewis, Allegany and Cattaraugus, would control but 2,393 of the number, leaving the whig party indebted to conservatism alone for the remaining 9,733 votes.

Gov. WRIGHT's majority in the State, in 1844, was 10,033 votes, and if the canvass of the remaining counties be examined, an amount of conservative defection may be easily traced, much more than equal to the difference between this majority and the above change of votes traceable to the conservative effort alone. Conservative defection, therefore, has been the cause of the defeat of the democracy at the late election. It has given to the whigs the votes to overcome the democratic majority of 1844, and still a greater number. It has marshalled the local feeling in favor of the lateral canals through the direct action of some of its prominent leaders, and brought that feeling to act in concert and in column with whiggery and itself. It has done more, and used its influence with activity and zeal, and we verily believe, with efficiency and success, to bring anti-rentism into the line, to contribute its strength to the certainty and the magnitude of the whig triumph.

The evidences of this last fact are the entire course of the Argus to keep alive the prejudices of the Anti Rent party against Gov. Wright, by filling its columns with matter, which was extracted and circulated in hand-bills by the Anti-Rent politicians, as better calculated to inflame the passions and prejudices of these excited people than anything composed for their own papers; and the very great sensitiveness of the editor of the Argus, shown through the columns of his paper whenever there seemed to be any proba-

bility that the democratic anti-renters might conclude to act with the democratic party instead of lending their aid to the whigs.

The fact that the first intimations that reached us, and we believe the first which were made, that the Anti-Rent State convention would divide the State tickets, and nominate the whig governor and the democratic lieutenant governor, came from active and officious leaders of the conservative party, is another evidence we offer to this point. The very first intimation of this sort, which came to our knowledge, was given out, in the shape of a prediction by a noisy conservative, (who is also a federal office-holder,) in the Capitol, during the sitting of the constitutional convention, and about a week before the anti-rent State convention assembled to make its nominations. This prediction was coupled with the triumphant declaration that this would defeat Wright. Subsequently to this time, and up to the meeting of that convention, this prediction was constantly repeated from various like sources.

When that convention did assemble, it is a fact well known here, that a very large portion of the delegates, if not an entire majority of the convention, and certainly a large majority of the democratic members were inclined to pass a resolution that the convention would make no State nominations, but would leave the members of their party to vote upon the State ticket as their political preferences should incline them. It is as well known that many of the active conservative leaders here mingled busily with the delegates and strenuously urged the nomination by the convention of John Young for Governor and Mr. Gardiner for Lieutenant Governor, and a division between the two great political parties of the Canal Commissioners. The subject was under discussion, in and out of the convention, from its meeting in the morning until a late hour in the afternoon, when the course urged by the conservatives was taken, and nominations were made, selected with numerical equality from the tickets of the two political parties, the prominent democratic delegates making all the opposition in their power against such a decision on the part of the convention.

A farther significant fact, connected with this proceeding, and which we have in a very direct manner and from the highest authority is, that the Editor of the Argus and self-styled "*State Printer*," during the day of the Convention, held a conversation with one of the democratic delegates, in which he strenuously urged the nomination of Young and Gardiner by the Convention; that the delegate, after hearing the Editor upon the point, remarked to him that his object in urging this course was very plain; that he wished to defeat Gov. Wright; that Mr. Crosswell made no direct answer to the remark, but permitted his silence to assent to its truth, and went on farther and more earnestly to urge the nominations of Young and Gardiner, the delegate having been one of those who had entertained the opinion that it was better to make no nomination.

These facts, we think, sufficiently prove that the conservatives did all in their power to bring the Anti-Rent party into coalition with the whigs, and as that coalition was not effected until it was

brought about by this interference in this manner, on their part, it is fair to give to them the credit of having accomplished that object; this added to the whig side of the poll list, from seven to nine thousand votes, and with those before accounted for, will constitute an aggregate of changes in their favor of at least 20,000 votes.—The majority for Governor Wright in 1844, as we have seen, was 10,033, and the majority for John Young now is 11,572—making together 21,605 votes changed in the State upon the Governor ballot. The scattering conservative vote in the counties which have not been examined, will supply this difference.

Here, then, we have the causes of the defeat of the democracy, at the late election, clearly ascertained by facts, and traced upon the face of the official canvass. We have said that anti-rentism was a cause, and that the local canal feeling was a cause, but that Conservative defection was *the cause*, and now we think we have shown this to be so. We have shown that it was the strongest element in the combination of causes, and that it was the agent which combined and marshalled, and moved the other influences. It was *the cause*.

In pronouncing this conclusion, we only echo the universal admission of the Whig press. It ascribes, with one voice, the victory of its party to the zeal and active exertions of "the old hunkers," another name for the Conservative party.—It is a declaration, which comes in from all quarters, that the Conservatives manifested more anxiety that the Whig vote should be got fully out, than did the Whigs themselves, and the Whigs of more than one county, and district in the State, ascribe their success to this wakeful energy on the part of their allies.

So much for the results of the election and the causes. In a future article, we will remark upon the consequences.

## No. V.

In our former remarks under this head, we have confined ourselves to a view of the citizens of the State, who gave their votes, and to the causes which operated upon them to produce the results declared. As an important element in future contests between the two great political parties of the State, a notice of the freemen who have not voted at this election, will not be inappropriate in this place. The vote for Governor Wright is less than that given to him in 1844, by 53,784, while the vote given to Gov. Young is 32,179 less than the vote given to Millard Fillmore when he ran against Gov. Wright at that election. The canvass of 1846, therefore, furnishes no conclusive evidence that the democracy are in a minority in the State at this time.—This depends entirely upon the political character and preferences of the 85,963 freemen who did not vote. It is by no means certain that the combined power of the whigs, anti-renters, conservatives, and the local canal interests, is equal to that of the democracy of the State fully exerted. One thing is certain; the true and faithful democracy entered the contest without, as a body, a single apprehension of defeat, and the poll of some of its

strongest counties, such, for example, as Suffolk, shows that the vote was not brought out. Suffolk county polled, in 1844, upon the governor ticket, 5873 votes, and gave a democratic majority of 921. Now, that county polls upon the same ticket, but 3591 votes, and gives a democratic majority of only 441, less by 480 than the majority given in 1844. The whigs, on the contrary, fought at the late election, knowing the combinations to come to their aid, the defection to be experienced in the democratic ranks, and stimulated by strong hopes of success from those causes. It is natural, therefore, to conclude that their vote was more thoroughly brought out than that of the democracy, and that the absentees from the polls are divided at least as favorably to the democratic party as the comparison between the two canvasses shows. If that be so, the State is democratic, notwithstanding this accidental success of the whigs in the absence of the democratic voters.

We have hitherto spoken of this election as a defeat to the democracy. It has been so to the democratic candidates, from the combination of causes which have been set forth; but to the great principles for which the radical democracy of the State has been steadily contending for years, it has been a triumph wholly unequalled in the history of the elections of the State. The great principles of electing the prominent officers of the government by the people; of imposing personal liability upon bankers for the indemnity of the public against loss from the failure of banks and the frauds of their officers and agents; of confining the revenues of the State, to the payment of the existing public debts of the State, so as to relieve the people from perpetual taxation; and of permitting the people themselves, hereafter, to say for themselves when debts shall be contracted upon their credit, or taxes imposed on them to pay such debts, or to construct works of internal improvement which promise no revenue; all these great and fundamental principles, so long, steadily, and strenuously contended for by the true democracy, have been settled and secured by this election, and are now made provisions in the Constitution of the State, adopted by the people by a majority of 129,092 votes.

No triumph of principle could have been more complete, and no result could have shown more strongly how entirely the great principles of the radical democracy are the principles of the people of the State, almost irrespective of party classifications.

We come now to speak of the consequences of the election, and among them, one is so palpably suggested by the reflections just expressed, and the daily occurrences around us, that we give it the first place.

It was but reasonable to expect, after the adoption of the new Constitution by the vote we have mentioned, containing the financial provisions we have briefly pointed out, that the long financial controversy, which has characterized the political struggles of the State for many years, and most especially since the year 1842, would be considered by all parties as terminated, at least for a time. Scarcely, however, had the result of the late contest become known, when the entire whig press of the State, as if ignorant that the whole matter had been constitutionally settled,

opened the cry for renewed expenditures; a more speedy completion of the public works; the enlargement of the Erie canal, the finishing of the Black River and Genesee Valley canals, and we know not what other schemes, to use the money and credit of the people, regardless of their debt and their taxes. The sagacious editor of the Evening Journal has had no other theme, since the returns of the election proved to him that John Young was to be the governor of the State for the next two years, and he has really succeeded, as perfectly as newspaper articles can do it, in filling up the Erie canal as effectually as did the whig canal commissioners, in 1840 and 1841, when their superintendents of repairs were permitted to leave a foot of earth in the bottom. The articles of the Journal editor, however, do not prove as solid as mother earth, and the canal continued, until the frosts closed it, to bring all the freight from Buffalo which was presented for transportation; the boats continued to draw full four feet of water, and to pass along without touching the bottom; and the real obstructions were in the columns of the whig press, and not in the canal.

At last some of the whig papers seem to see the difficulties in their way, and come out fairly and fully against the constitution so recently and so decidedly adopted by the people, and recommend that immediate steps be taken to abrogate the financial provisions therein; and the provisions which entrust to the people of the State the election of their judges. This, we are authorised to suppose, from this lead of the whig press, is to be the whig ground for the next political campaign. The whig party did not venture to take ground against the late convention to revise the constitution. Indeed the party leaders with this same John Young at their head, assumed to favor it, and even attempted to make it a whig measure, as it would now seem, not to introduce into that instrument the reforms demanded by the people, and those securities against debt and taxation so necessary to their individual safety, as well as to the credit and prosperity of the State; but to prevent such provisions from being adopted. Even when incorporated into the constitution, the whig members of the convention, with three or four exceptions, did not dare to vote against the instrument, but gave their votes in its favor, conscious no doubt that the feeling of the masses of the freemen of the State, of all parties, was as their votes at the polls of the late election have shown it to be, in relation to these great constitutional principles.

Still, having unexpectedly gained the power of the State, the leaders of this party show, at once, what are their real principles upon these questions. They confess, in the strongest possible form, that their party policy is debt and expenditure; and they seem to feel that, to trust the people themselves to say when money shall be borrowed upon their credit, and when taxes shall be imposed upon them to construct new works of internal improvement, is fatal to their party ascendancy and their party power. It is a broad avowal that their present triumph has been gained by pandering to the interests of the canal sections, and to the peculiar and selfish passions of the conservatives, as well as to the excited demands of



the Anti-Renters; and that, the combination having succeeded in overthrowing the democratic candidates, it is to be relied upon to abrogate the constitution also, which contains these great democratic principles.

These confessions and avowals of the whig press, made in the name and on the behalf of the whig party, exhibit in the strongest light the great triumph of the democracy in the adoption of this constitution. The controversy has been one purely of principle. The democracy has contended for submitting to the people the appointment of their important and responsible officers, and the questions of contracting debt on their credit, and of imposing taxes upon themselves. They have succeeded in that contest, and the constitution, to secure these great and invaluable rights to the people, has just been adopted by a majority of the popular vote of more than 129,000. The principles are now a part of the constitution of the State. These great rights are perfect in the people, secured to them by constitutional provisions.

These constitutional provisions are the subject of complaint. To confide such trusts to the people themselves is not consistent with the interests or views or policy of the whig party, or with the federal principles of government entertained by that party.

The issues are plain. Let them be fairly met. Let the allied whigs and conservatives come boldly before the people, and ask them to surrender these rights, before they have been exercised—that more debt may be created and further taxes imposed, to which they will not consent, if appealed to in the manner pointed out in this new constitution. Let them tell the people they are not worthy to be trusted with these high powers, because they are not competent to elect the judges of their own courts, and because they will not consent to borrow money, and to be taxed to pay the debt and interest, that political obligations may be discharged, and that selfish politicians may hold power, and make money out of legislation.

If the coalition is not quite prepared to take as bold a stand as this, as their first step towards administering the government under this constitution, let them follow the provisions of the instrument, and submit to the people a law to borrow money and impose a tax upon themselves to repay it, that the obligations to the canal interests, to the conservative party, and to all other selfish and sinister combinations, incurred by the whigs as the price of their present victory, may be discharged, and that, by the expenditure of public money, thus creating new jobs, contracts, and claims, they may have some prospect of retaining the power they have so unexpectedly gained.

These are the real issues, which the course of the whig press tenders to divide parties for the future. Bring them up fairly, and no democrat will object to meet them at the polls. One or the other of these steps is the only way in which the money of the people can be constitutionally reached hereafter, and this agony of the whig editors declares, more significantly than it could be done in language, their painful consciousness of the barrenness of their victory, if the pockets of the people cannot be approached and money

drawn from them to keep up the game of political speculation.

Such is one of the consequences promising to flow from the whig success at our recent State election. Had the democracy retained the power of the State, not a suggestion of creating more debt, or imposing further taxes, would have been heard. The debt paying policy of Gov. Wright, which has diminished the canal debt more than four millions of dollars, within the two years of his administration, would have been quietly pursued. Now, not a word is heard of paying the debt resting upon the people and compelling taxation, but the universal cry is, how shall money be obtained to re-open the public works and public expenditures, while this new constitution, referring the whole matter to the people themselves, stands in the way? And the editor, of the New-York Express, more bold and more honest than his fellows, says, strike at the provisions of the constitution itself. Let immediate measures be taken to abrogate them, that the whig policy of 1840 may be restored.

Others less bold and confident, point to the contingent power to borrow upon the credit of the State, without the express sanction of the people, sums required by the necessities of the public treasury, and not in the aggregate to exceed \$1,000,000, and counsel the borrowing and spending that sum upon the canals, until ways can be devised for obtaining further aid. This would be as wanton a violation of the constitution as to make a direct loan for the canals without submitting the law to the people, as the constitution requires.

Beyond this, the consequences to the people of the State of this defeat of the democracy cannot be extensively calamitous, and in reference to these consequences, the people, under the new constitution, hold the power of their own protection in their own hands. If they shall choose to submit to taxation to complete these canals, no democrat will resist such a conclusion on their part. It is to give the people the right to decide this point for themselves, and not to have it decided for them by a set of interested whigs and conservatives in the legislature, that they have contended, and with the decision of the people the democracy will be content.

To the National Government, the consequences of this overthrow of the democracy in this State, may be more serious. That government is involved in a war with a foreign power, and the Whigs, like the federal party of 1812, of which they are the legitimate successors, take the side of the enemy. They see nothing but wrong in their own country, and nothing that is wrong in their country's enemy. Should they obtain the power of the next Congress, which is too strongly probable, the interests and the honor of the country must depend upon the manner in which they will carry on this war, and who can measure the dangers to both! It is not a relief to this reflection to know that the men who have made their boasts of being the peculiar and exclusive friends of the present democratic National Administration, and who have been loud in charging hostility to it upon the body of our true democracy, are the very men who have led the Conservative party over to the Whigs, and in that way thrown that ad-



ministration into the hands of its enemies, so far as the vote of this State in Congress is concerned.

The democracy of New York, however, will be true to the country in this war, as they were in the war of 1812, and the great majority of the people of the State, when the delusions and deceptions practised at this election, shall be seen and felt, will stand more firmly than ever with the democracy, in protecting and defending the interests and honor of the State and Nation.

The consequences of this defeat to the democracy of the State are but those which have usually followed similar defeats of this party in times past. The State is decidedly democratic, and nothing but divisions in its own ranks has thrown that party into a minority, since the close of the late war. Those divisions, as now, have always arisen from having men in the party who were not of it; men anxious to control its policy, and command its patronage, while they repudiated its principles; men ready to adhere to its usages while those usages would serve them and their views and interests, but as ready to secede from the party and join its opponents, when they would not.

In all these cases, the defeat thus visited upon the democracy has been very temporary, while its effect has been to reorganize the party more firmly and strongly, by bringing its sound principles actively into exercise and calling out more sound and faithful representatives to enforce them.

Such has been the cause of the present defeat, and such will be its consequences. The issues already tendered by the whig press, resulting from its unexpected success, and displaying the objects and policy of the combination by the strength of which that success has been achieved, will bring the sound principles of the democracy more directly and practically before the people, and demonstrate to them that, in electing a whig administration to put the constitution

into operation, they have been grossly deceived and made to elect men hostile to the vital principles of that constitution; principles which have commanded, at the same election, such a vast majority of their votes.

Let those principles constitute the platform, upon which the democratic party is called to rally and re-organize itself; let the nominating conventions represent truly the constituent body, and make it their object to serve, sustain and secure these great principles, not to gratify the restless ambition of this or that aspirant; let the inquiry in all cases be, as to candidates, are they true and sound and faithful to these principles; let their lives and associations and acts, and not their professions and declarations answer, the inquiries; and let whoever may be nominated for an office, be so nominated for his truth and soundness and fidelity; in short, let the usages of the party be exercised only in subordination to its principles, and to carry them out in practice, and the ascendancy of the democratic party will be regained as soon as an election shall present an opportunity, and will be as permanent as the observance of these plain and just principles of action.

It has been the policy of the conservative party, most rigidly and faithfully pursued, to produce the impression upon the democratic mind of the State, that the division in the democratic party, which has been known to exist for years and which has finally produced the defeat of that party, was in no way connected with questions of principle, but was wholly a controversy about men, or an angry dispute between editors. We have entered upon the task of tracing this division to its source, to undeceive the honest democracy upon this point, and to place the differences of principle so plainly and clearly before our readers, as to put at rest these groundless pretences, which the conservative leaders had always known to be such.

## THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION.

When the self-appointed delegation of "reliable democrats" from this State were in Washington in June last, opposing the passage of the Tariff of 1846, a prominent member of that delegation, who has reaped a rich harvest from the operation of the Tariff of 1842, declared that no member of Congress, who voted for the Tariff bill of 1846, could or should be re-elected from the State of New York.

These men returned home, enraged because the legislation of Congress could not be prostituted to the promotion of their selfish purposes, and they put in motion every engine within their power, in order that this prophecy might be fulfilled, and the result of their efforts is, that the democracy are beaten by about twice as large an aggregate majority on Congress as that given by the concerted and secret aid of the same men against Gov. Wright.

Petrie, the bolting candidate in Herkimer, is claimed by the Whigs on the Tariff; he is a democrat elected by the aid of Whig votes, and pledged to Whig policy.

There are, therefore only ten regularly nominated members elected to Congress, out of a delegation of thirty-four.

The aggregate majority for the whigs, including the majority for Petrie, is..... 26,816  
Aggregate majority for democrats,..... 4,764

Majority for Whigs and Bolters in the State, ..... 21,061

The detail is as follows:

| Democrats.              |       | Whigs and Bolters.          |        |
|-------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------|
| Dist.                   | maj.  | Dist.                       | maj.   |
| 1 Frederick W. Lord,    | 692   | 5. Fred'k A. Tallmadge,     | 396    |
| 2. Henry C. Murphy,     | 49    | 7. William Nelson,          | 225    |
| 3. Henry Nicoll,        | 49    | 8. Cornelius Warren,        | 229    |
| 4. Wm. B. McClay,       | 692   | 9. Daniel B. St. John,      | 1437   |
| 6. David S. Jackson,    | 143   | 10. E. Sherrill (Anti-rent) | 1225   |
| 13. Sidney Lawrence,    | 993   | 11. Peter H. Sylvester,     | 826    |
| 18. James Collins,      | 146   | 12. Gideon O. Reynolds,     | 657    |
| 20. Timothy Jenkins,    | 326   | 13. J. I. Slingerland (An-  |        |
| 21. Geo A Starkweather, | 520   | ti-rent.)                   | 9063   |
| 22. Ausburn Birdsall,   | 909   | 14. Orlando Kellogg,        | 2439   |
|                         |       | 16. Hugh White,             | 632    |
|                         |       | 17. Geo Petrie,             | 1824   |
|                         |       | 19. Joseph Mullin,          | 44     |
|                         |       | 23. William Duer,           | 245    |
|                         |       | 24. Daniel Gott,            | 404    |
|                         |       | 25. Harman S. Conger,       | 217    |
|                         |       | 26. Wm. T. Lawrence,        | 14     |
|                         |       | 27. John M. Holley,         | 288    |
|                         |       | 28. Elias B. Holmes,        | 1761   |
|                         |       | 29. Robert L. Rose,         | 2088   |
|                         |       | 30. David Rumsey,           | 908    |
|                         |       | 31. Dudley Marvins,         | 3261   |
|                         |       | 32. Nathan K. Hale,         | 1275   |
|                         |       | 33. Harvey Putnam,          | 2487   |
|                         |       | 34. Washington Hunt,        | 646    |
|                         | 4,764 |                             | 25,816 |

The arrangements growing out of the "holy alliance" between the "God-like" and the Tariff Lobby from this State, were carried out with such adroitness and secrecy, that they disorganized and defeated the democratic members of Congress in eight Congressional districts, which in the midst of the confusion still gave majorities for Governor Wright. The districts which elected whigs or bolters to Congress, and gave majorities for Gov. Wright are as follows. We give also the majority for Gov. W. in 1844, in each district:

|                                                                | 1846 | 1844. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------|
| 7th dist. Westchester and Rockland, maj. for Gov. Wright,..... | 636  | 1137  |
| 8th do. Dutchess and Putnam,.....                              | 451  | 808   |
| 9th do. Orange and Sullivan,.....                              | 146  | 998   |
| 17th do. Herkimer and Montgomery,.....                         | 234  | 2003  |
| 19th do. Jefferson.....                                        | 497  | 770   |
| 23rd do. Madison and Oswego,.....                              | 160  | 951   |
| 26th do. Chemung, Tompkins and Yates.....                      | 374  | 1167  |
| 27th do. Seneca and Wayne,.....                                | 112  | 404   |
|                                                                | 2670 | 7228  |

The counties composing these eight districts, it is seen, gave Governor Wright, in 1844, a majority of 7228, showing a loss of 4658 on his vote, and a loss of eight members in the National Congress.

A similar attempt was made to disorganize and break down the St. Lawrence district, by getting up a bolting candidate in Lewis, in whose favor the whig candidate declined. This scheme to defeat the fair expression of the democracy in that district, emanated directly from the conservative central power at Albany, but their baseness has been signally rebuked by the honesty and firmness of the unconquerable democracy of St. Lawrence.





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